

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003



DETROIT, Feb. 25 — The newspaper shutdown here entered a new stage this week as striking Teamsters at the *Detroit News* were joined by pickets from the other newspaper unions, with picket lines going up at the *Detroit Free Press* as well. This united action by the newspaper unions received the endorsement and full support of the Wayne County AFL-CIO Central Labor Council.

The Photoengravers are now on strike at the *News*. Members of six other unions, the Typographical, Pressmen, Stereotypers, Paper and Plate Handlers, Mailers, and the Guild, are marching together on the line, carrying "Locked Out" signs, at both papers.

This action by the unions demonstrates their determination to defeat the strategy of the publishers — which is to force a settlement on the Teamsters and then make that settlement mandatory for all unions. This strategy so far has failed in the 102-day-old strike.

Narrow Rejection

It failed last week when the Teamsters narrowly rejected a wage offer of the publishers of a \$30 weekly wage increase spread over a three-year period, by a vote of 299 to 243. The *Free Press* Teamsters, who sign a separate contract, voted for the proposal, 244 to 135. But this affirmative vote does not mean that they will be back on the job under these terms.

The publishers of the *Free Press*, in an agreement they have with the *News* publishers, shut down operations and locked out all newspaper workers when the *News* was closed by the strike of the Teamsters on Nov. 16. Soon after, on Nov. 30, the contracts of the other newspaper unions expired.

Last week's vote was the second time inadequate wage offers of the publishers have been turned down by the Teamsters. The first offer, submitted in December, was \$27 over a three-year period and this was rejected by a large majority of the entire membership of Teamster Local 372.

The vote both times was conducted in a most unusual and irregular manner. It was held under supervision of the Labor Department and in the form of a referendum by mail — that is, ballots were sent to workers' homes and each one voted in isolation without benefit of discussion with fellow Teamsters at a union meeting.

Wall Street Journal Switches on War

In a significant shift of editorial opinion, the *Wall Street Journal* raised sharp questions about Johnson's policies in South Vietnam Feb. 23.

The *Journal's* attitude about the war was considerably undermined by the victories of the National Liberation Front over the past month:

"We think the American people should be getting ready to accept, if they haven't already, the prospect that the whole Vietnam effort may be doomed; it may be falling apart beneath our feet. The actual military situation may be making academic the philosophical arguments for the intervention in the first place . . .

"The U.S. . . . went in to demonstrate to Communist China that it couldn't get away with this kind of indirect aggression and that it hadn't better try direct aggression either. But the Communists are getting away with it; they are putting the mighty U.S. through a wringer, and they may be encouraged to try more of it."

The big difference in the circumstances of the vote in December and last week was in the attitude of the officials of the Teamsters Local 372 and top officers of the International Teamsters who are now assisting in negotiations. In December the union officials agreed to make no recommendation, pro or con. The second time they strongly urged a Yes vote.

The publishers stated before the vote that this was "the maximum offer" they would make to the Teamsters and that it would have to be "the pattern" for all the other unions.

During the week of the vote, TV and radio networks broadcast that there was agreement between the Teamsters and the publishers and gave the impression that the *Detroit papers* would soon resume publication.

Rumors concerning investigations of the strike by a state committee and the U.S. Senate Investigating Committee were rife. One report was that a state legislator had consented to postpone his investigation for three weeks on request of the publishers and Teamster officials because all sides agreed a settlement was in sight. There were other unsubstantiated reports of this kind, all designed to stampede the striking Teamsters into voting for the publishers' offer.

Offer Fell Short

The Council of Newspaper Unions, however, stated unambiguously that they considered the wage offer inadequate, that they would not settle on such terms regardless of how the Teamster vote went, and that there were other problems to be resolved before contracts would be signed.

The major newspaper unions have made their position visibly more emphatic now with the appearance of pickets at the *News* and *Free Press* buildings.

The publishers continue to refuse to recognize the Council and insist on negotiating with each union separately. That is, when they do sit down to negotiate — which they have not done often or seriously. An example of their duplicity was thrown in the face of the Guild in their last negotiating session one day after the recent vote of the Teamsters. The Guild had been led to believe that there was a "settlement offer" coming from the publishers. They were offered \$27 over three years, exactly what the Teamsters had rejected last December.

Meeting

Two days ago another attempt was made to get the Teamsters to end their strike. This time Teamster officials scheduled a union meeting — for striking members of their union at the *News* — to reconsider the vote that rejected the publishers' "maximum offer," the aim being to get 29 strikers to change their vote, and give a 272 to 270 vote of approval. The striking Teamsters did have their meeting, refused to reconsider, and remain on strike.

The other newspaper unions are now also directly involved in the battle. And the rest of the labor movement is taking a strong stand in support of them. The Wayne County AFL-CIO Council this week heard a report by the president of the Newspaper Council, Norman Parks, and resolved to do everything possible to bring the strikes to a successful conclusion. Newspaper workers may be joined on the picket line by workers of auto and other unions. The *Detroit Labor News*, weekly paper of the Wayne County Council, this week denounced the arrogance of the publishers and pledged full support to the newspaper unions.

—Sarah Lovell

European Youth Hold Protest Against U.S. War in Vietnam

By Mary-Alice Waters

BERLIN, Feb. 18 — Twenty thousand young people gathered in West Berlin today for the largest Europe-wide international demonstration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam yet held. About 15,000 came from West Berlin itself, and there was representation from almost every country in Europe. This impressive show of international solidarity with the heroic fight of the Vietnamese was sponsored by the Brussels Conference of Vanguard Youth Organizations and hosted by the West Berlin SDS (German Socialist Student Union).

For over a week the demonstration had been front-page news in all the German papers. Claiming that the demonstration was a threat to the peace and tranquility of West Berlin, the Social Democratic mayor, Klaus Schutz, and the West Berlin senate banned the demonstration.

Challenges Ban

The West Berlin SDS announced it would go ahead with its plans despite the ban, and, together with other youth organizations, proceeded to challenge the senate ruling in the Berlin courts.

As the day of the demonstration approached, pressure to legalize it mounted. The West Berlin churches announced they would open their doors this afternoon to give refuge to any demonstrators threatened by the police.

Yesterday, thousands of youth from more than 20 countries began pouring into Berlin, and by late afternoon the courts overruled the ban. When this decision was announced to thousands of youth meeting in the main auditorium of the Technical University for an all-day Vietnam Conference, the applause was deafening.

From yesterday morning at 11:30 a.m. until 12:30 this morning, the International Vietnam Conference heard socialist speakers from all over Europe discuss the Vietnamese revolution, the anti-imperialist struggle in the colonial countries, and the anti-imperialist struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

Overflow Crowd

Between 5,000 and 7,000 youth attended the conference. Several thousand students, unable to find places in the main auditorium, listened to the speeches in the main lobby where they were broadcast in German, and in other lecture halls where they were translated and broadcast in French and English.

The theme of the conference was set by the backdrop behind the speakers' platform — an enormous paper flag of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front on which was written, "For the Victory of the Vietnamese Revolution," and then under that, "The duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution."

The political range of the approximately 80 organizations represented in the united action was broad. Despite earlier objections to the militant character of the weekend's activities and the participation of Trotskyists, even several official Communist Party youth organizations — from Austria, Denmark, Norway and West Berlin — participated.

The spirit and militancy of the students, who sat for hours and listened, was extraordinary. Speaker after speaker was closely followed and frequently interrupted with cheers, clapping and shouts of "Ho, Ho — Ho Chi Minh" or by hisses and shouts of disagreement. The speaker who received the most unfriendly response was the representative of the West Berlin Free German



ON OCT. 21. Antiwar march in West Berlin last fall. Recent demonstration was still larger.

Youth when he tried to defend the Soviet Union's attitude toward the Vietnam war.

Among the highlights of the more than 20 speeches were the ones made by Tariq Ali, a Pakistani socialist speaking for the British Vietnam Solidarity Campaign; the speech by Bahman Nirumand, an Iranian professor living and working in Germany; the sudden appearance of a South Vietnamese revolutionary; the speech by Rudi Dutschke, the popular leader of the left wing of the German SDS; a message from the Cuban Communist Youth; and the speech by Ernest Mandel, the Belgian revolutionary socialist.

As the demonstration assembled this morning, representatives of numerous delegations placed wreaths "From the Youth of Europe" on a memorial to the victims of fascism, and then the crowds of youth began to assemble on the Kurfürstendamm, Berlin's main street, "showcase" of the West.

Red flags and NLF flags abounded, and banners in German, French, Danish, Italian, Flemish, English, Persian, Norwegian, Swedish, Spanish, Greek and Dutch — just to mention the most prominent — proclaimed support to the Vietnamese revolutionaries.

Che's Call

One of the most popular banners, appearing in numerous languages, was Che Guevara's call, "Create two, three, many Vietnams." Hundreds of demonstrators carried pictures of Che, Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Liebknecht.

One of the most colorful of all the delegations, and the largest of the foreign groups, was the French JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth). Dozens of red flags headed their delegation and numerous banners called for the victory of the world socialist revolution. Rudi Dutschke marched with JCR leader Alain Krivine.

The second largest foreign delegation, from Denmark, in addition to all the signs concerning Vietnam, carried several which reflected the angry reaction of the Danish people to the recent loss of four H-bombs over Danish territory in Greenland: "U.S. Get Out of Denmark" and "Hiroshima, Saigon, Thule."

The spirit of the demonstration was also reflected in the chants. From time to time, to the cadence of "Ho, Ho—Ho Chi Minh" and "Che, Che—Guevara" the youth would run for a block at a time. Cries of "FNL Vaincra" (Victory to the NLF), and "FNL à Saigon"

(NLF, On to Saigon), alternated with appeals to the onlookers to join the demonstrators and strains of "The Internationale."

Feeling the power of their numbers, the German youth made fun of the vicious West German press campaign against them by laughingly chanting, "we are just a small left-wing radical minority." Several onlookers waved red flags from their windows and voiced their support. Except for minor provocations from a few ultra-right goons (described as "construction workers" by the German press), the response from the bystanders was usually friendly.

The destination of the march was the large square in front of the Opera House, where the famous "June 2" demonstration against the Shah of Iran took place. It was at that demonstration last summer that the student Benno Ohnesorg was killed by the police and the resulting furor brought down the city government of West Berlin.

Red Flags

Across from the Opera House students climbed construction cranes more than 100 feet tall to place red flags and NLF flags high over the streets of Berlin. Ernest Mandel told the cheering youth at the rally following the demonstration that a red flag over West Berlin for even an hour was a historic occasion, but that one day it would fly over all of Germany, permanently. He reminded them that 35 years ago the choice had been between the red flag and fascism and the workers had lost. But the new generation of German youth and their allies around the world would have a second chance.

The size and spirit of the demonstration marked not only a defeat for the reactionary forces in Germany. For West Europe it was an unprecedented show of international solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. In Liège, Belgium, in October 1966, a similar demonstration drew 4,000; 16 months later in Berlin the forces had grown to 20,000. Steps were also taken to further strengthen the coordination and joint work amongst the increasing number of youth organizations involved in the campaign against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

For the American antiwar movement it will be a real source of inspiration and encouragement to know that we have such strong and determined allies amongst the rapidly growing ranks of revolutionary youth in Europe.

Third Anniversary of Assassination

Nationwide Tributes to Malcolm X

By Elizabeth Barnes

On the third anniversary of the death of Malcolm X, his life and his ideas are becoming known and accepted by masses of people who even a year ago were not aware of his importance as one of the greatest revolutionaries of our time.

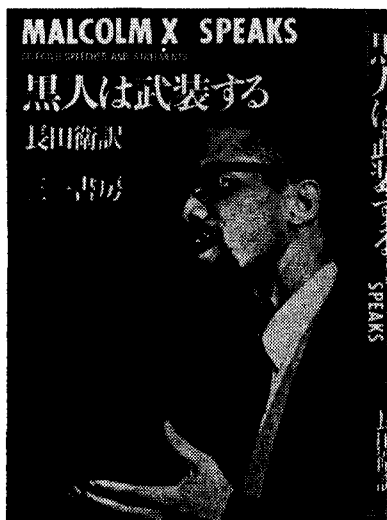
The changes in the black struggle in the last three years have been so rapid and deepgoing that it is already possible to see Malcolm clearly as the forerunner and chief exponent of a whole new nationalist radicalization of the Afro-American movement — a radicalization characterized by demands for black power, self-defense, black pride, unity with the colonized peoples of the world, and black control of the black community.

In an article commemorating Malcolm's death, the *Michigan Chronicle*, one of the largest Afro-American newspapers in the country, referred to him as "the founder of the movement for self-determination." The article then went on to say, "Across the nation, indeed the world, testament to his memory is being formally observed each Feb. 21, his assassination date, in an ever increasing number of cities."

This year meetings and activities in honor of Malcolm X were held not only in all the major cities across the country, but in numerous smaller towns like Dover, Del., and Ann Arbor, Mich.

In many areas children stayed out of school when black organizations proclaimed Feb. 21 a school holiday. Thirty to 40 percent of black school children in Philadelphia missed classes on the 21st; in Detroit about 30 percent stayed home.

In San Francisco Black Student



JAPANESE EDITION. *Malcolm X Speaks*, published by Merit Publishers, has now been translated into Japanese and published in Japan.

Association President David Herman went before the school board to request that Feb. 21 be made a legal holiday. "It is no longer possible for you to tell the black community whom to honor," he said. "In the history of this country black patriots have never been honored. It is time this changed."

In Chicago a youth was arrested at Calumet high school after he delivered a speech, from a table in the school's cafeteria, in favor of a massive school walkout.

Saint Cecilia's, a Catholic school in Detroit that is 95 percent white, was closed on Feb. 21 in honor of Malcolm X. In addition, Father Ray Ellis, pastor of St. Celia's parish, paid tribute to the memory of Malcolm X in a sermon during mass.

The role played by Malcolm X

in educating and radicalizing a whole layer of newly awakened black students could be seen clearly in many of the memorial meetings held. At a memorial meeting at the Militant Labor Forum in Los Angeles, Black Student Union President Rashidi told the audience that when Malcolm X was alive he was deaf to him, but that after getting hold of some of Malcolm's speeches he started to wake up.

Isolated

Tony Thomas of the Organization of African and Afro-American Students at American University told a meeting at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, "Like many young black people brought up in a conservative, brainwashed home, I was isolated from the true character of Malcolm X's ideas." Thomas explained that even before breaking with the Muslims, Malcolm made an impact on him as a leader and organizer with the Nation of Islam. He said, "To Afro-Americans, even in isolated places like Hartford where I grew up, the Muslims were a dramatic example of a grass roots independent black group struggling for black consciousness, black dignity and black power. The most important effect it had on me was to show how the masses of black people could be organized and how they could take leading roles in a movement."

In Detroit, as in many cities, a week of activities in honor of Malcolm X was planned. On Feb. 21 at least 1,500 people crowded into the Shrine of the Black Madonna to attend a memorial meeting where attorney Milton Henry, a friend of Malcolm's, gave the keynote address. The meeting raised over a thousand dollars to help Malcolm's family. The previous evening a dance sponsored by Forum '66 raised \$500 to send to Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow.

Other memorial meetings in Detroit included a rally on the east side sponsored by the Concept East Theater and East Side Voice of Independent Detroit, and a panel in tribute to the impact of Malcolm X on black youth held at the Friday Night Socialist Forum. Speakers at the forum included John Watson, editor of *Inner City Voice*, Judy Watts of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Robert Higgins, chairman of the Black Political Study Group at Wayne State University.

Pretext

One of the many memorial meetings held in New York received front-page coverage in the *New York Times* because it is being used by politicians and school board officials as a pretext for attacking the concept of black control of the schools. The meeting, which drew a crowd of 1,000, was held at Intermediate School 201 during school hours, but IS 201 pupils were not allowed to attend. Among the speakers were James Baldwin and Sister Betty Shabazz. There was a dramatic presentation by the Spirit House Movers and Players, a community theater group organized by LeRoi Jones.

The pretext for attacking the meeting was a statement made by Herman Ferguson, adviser to the IS 201 Planning Board, who has been framed up under criminal anarchy charges in New York as one of the "Queens 15." The courts have raised Ferguson's bail to the fantastic sum of \$100,000 because of alleged statements he made at the meeting advocating violence.

It is ironic that the *New York Times* chose Feb. 23, the day after schoolchildren took a holiday from school for George Washington's birthday, to attack the memorial program at IS 201. "The use of the public schools . . . to sanctify political figures is an undesirable practice," the *Times* said.

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Freedom for Rap Brown!

In an orgy of racist persecution, federal courts have been using their powers to impose bail as a reprisal against the ideas and statements of black militants.

The most vicious persecution has been of SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown. When the militant black leader went to California recently to confer with his lawyer and to speak at rallies for the defense of Huey Newton, Louisiana's Representative Willis got the notorious racist House Un-American Activities Committee together to "request" the Department of Justice to revoke Brown's bail bond (Congressional Record, Feb. 20).

Brown is facing a number of charges. One was that he allegedly transported a gun on an airplane last August, and another

was that he allegedly incited to riot in Cambridge, Md., last year. On both charges he was freed on bail but with the unconstitutional restriction that he remain in lower Manhattan. However, he was to be allowed to travel to visit his lawyer.

As "punishment" for his speeches in California, Brown was seized, and bail on all charges against him raised to \$100,000. On top of this ransom, an additional charge was added—that Brown (while in custody in court) had "threatened" an FBI agent. Brown is on a hunger strike in jail in protest of this barbarous persecution.

Cops in Berkeley, Calif., also reacted to the California speeches by SNCC and Black Panther leaders and arrested Bobby Seale on fantastic trumped-up charges in order to slap \$11,000 bail on him. (See page 8.)

In New York, Herman Ferguson, one of the "Queens 15" charged with "plotting to kill"



Photo by Ethan King

H. Rap Brown

moderate NAACP leaders, made a speech at a Malcolm X memorial meeting at Intermediate School 201. For this speech, the judge promptly raised his bail from \$10,000 to \$100,000.

Cleveland Sellers, a SNCC worker, is in jail under a \$20,000 bond in South Carolina. Sellers was wounded in the police rampage against black students in Orangeburg, S.C., when the cops and national guard murdered three and wounded scores, most of whom were shot in the back. Extradition proceedings have begun against Sellers, to take him to Louisiana to face two-year-old charges of "carrying weapons."

The pattern is clear. False charges and bail amounting to ransom are being levied against militant blacks who advocate self-defense by black people against racist violence, in an attempt to silence the most militant black leaders and organizations.

Why Labor Needs Own Party

We call attention to an article elsewhere in this issue on the New York City sanitationmen's strike. It recounts support Mayor Lindsay got from leading Democrats in his efforts to break the strike. Those backing the Republican mayor included such notables as Frank O'Connor, a top hack in the Democratic Party machine, and Edward Sadow, a prominent Reform Democrat.

As the article explains, Republican Governor Rockefeller felt compelled to back off from use of the National Guard against the strikers when threatened with a general strike in New York City. That won him praise as labor's "friend" among union bureaucrats, who seem to learn nothing from experience. Rockefeller, who initiated the state's Taylor law barring strikes by public workers, cynically responded to the union bureaucrats' toadying by setting in motion steps to enact harsher penalties against workers who defy the strike ban.

Events in the sanitationmen's strike prove once again that all capitalist politicians are enemies of the workers. Union officials who urge the rank and file to support these double-dealers as "friends" are misleaders of labor. There can be no meaningful political road for workers short of the formation of their own independent labor party. The interests of those who toil can be served only by ousting every capitalist politician from public office and putting direct representatives of the working class in power.

McNamara's Last Say
—Lies and More Lies

By Ed Smith

It is a fitting end for Robert McNamara's career as head man at the Pentagon. Remember that just a short time ago, there was a big campaign under way to paint McNamara as the "honest statesman" whose "principles" no longer squared with the policies of the Johnson administration.

The fact that McNamara had been one of the chief architects of the most horrible and most futile war in recent history had been swept under the rug. The man from Ford was vying with Adlai Stevenson for the role of the "wronged" but "loyal" diplomat. It turns out that like Stevenson, McNamara was just another liar.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has demonstrated beyond possible question that McNamara lied about the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the incident that was used to "justify" the escalation of the war itself, and that he continues to lie about it down to the present day.

McNamara's first lie was that the two American destroyers allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats in August of 1964 were "carrying out a routine patrol" and consequently that the alleged attacks were "unprovoked."

It turns out that the two destroyers were spy ships like the *Pueblo*. On Aug. 3 the mission was to decoy North Vietnamese ships away from an attack on that nation's shores by "South Vietnamese" ships. Not only that, but it was to "clearly demonstrate our determination to continue these operations."

In other words, the destroyers

were part of Washington's aggression against North Vietnam and they were on a mission to demonstrate that that aggression was going to continue.

McNamara called the alleged attempted torpedoing of the destroyers "part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression" by North Vietnam. The second round of lying concerned the second alleged attack on the following day. Five hours after this was supposed to have taken place, Johnson ordered air bombardment of North Vietnam.

McNamara claimed there was no possible doubt about the nature of the attack. But he testified to the Senate committee last week that a cable went to the ships 36 minutes after the air strike was ordered asking for confirmation of the attack.

Then there is the whole question of how much that he actually knew at the time, McNamara revealed to congressmen in secret session when Johnson pressed them for the Tonkin resolution, since used to "legalize" anything LBJ wants to do in Vietnam.

According to the senators on the foreign relations committee, all but two of whom approved the Tonkin resolution and have approved every single appropriation for the war, McNamara lied to them. According to McNamara, he told them the truth.

If you look back at what Senator Morse said at the time — and he made two lengthy speeches opposing the resolution — you get the impression that he knew what it was all about. In fact one of Morse's arguments was that the people were not being told the truth (which he knew, but couldn't reveal to them, etc.).

OUR MAN IN HAVANA

Visit to a Nursery School

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba — Revolutionary Cuba has many problems. The U.S. blockade has created a scarcity of food, clothing and other commodities. In the cities the housing shortage is acute. There are difficulties of economic management. A structured workers' democracy remains to be created.

In reporting on Cuba today it is, of course, essential to gather as many facts as possible about these problems, and during my stay here I have been trying to do so.

Collecting hard facts about these matters is necessarily a slow, laborious process. Meanwhile, something interferes. You keep having experiences which so illuminate the gains and accomplishments of the Revolution that even a reporter afflicted with the disease of "deadline-itis" goes immediately to his typewriter to put them down.

For example: This morning the press office of the Foreign Ministry told me they had made an appointment for me to visit a nursery here in Havana. I was not particularly enthusiastic about going since, in the course of my travels, I had already seen several nurseries. But the appointment had been made, so I went. After I got there I was glad I did.

The nursery I visited, Los Cabritos, is a special one. It is organized specifically for students and faculty members at the University of Havana.

To meet the needs of their various hours of study and employment, the nursery is open 24 hours a day. Children from 45 days to five years can be brought into one of three different shifts. For parents who are both full-time workers and students it is possible to leave their children in

the nursery from Monday through Saturday. Children are boarded from the age of six months up.

The nursery was established last March and its present capacity is 206 children. This March a second section will be opened with facilities for another 200, and it is hoped to expand beyond that point to absorb more of the list of applicants.

In acting on applications, first preference is given to those parents who both are students. Next preference is given to mothers who are students. While some teachers have their children there, most of the children, I was told, are those of students.

The facilities seemed excellent. There is a good-sized staff which is required to take continuing courses in child care while employed. There is a small infirmary and the nurse in charge showed me the detailed medical history that is kept of each child. Every staff member, from the director down, must also have regular physical checkups, she said.

All the facilities — food, medical care, dental care, etc. — are, of course, completely free. The kitchen and food storeroom indicated the children are well fed.

As I went through the nursery I had a peculiar problem. Accompanying me was Mireya Bacallao, the director. A vigorous, cheerful woman, she seemed to be having a wonderful time with the children. She would pinch a cheek, pat a head, pick up a howling one and have it smiling in 30 seconds. With a cynicism born of my world I couldn't help but wonder if perhaps this wasn't for my benefit. What was her attitude toward the kids when the visitor was gone?

Halfway through the tour I got my answer. We walked out onto a patio where a group of chil-

dren around two years old were playing. They spotted her in the doorway and there was a dash toward her. She scooped up several and got others out from under her feet. It was the kind of thing that couldn't be put on.

Later, over a glass of mango juice, I told her of the question that had been in my mind and how it was resolved. She smiled and said: "Actually, it's a problem. I get too involved with them. I begin to think they're mine."

I told her I could think of bigger problems for children.

On the wall outside her office were photos of the children. She noticed that my eye went to a particularly appealing picture of a very wistful looking black child of about two or so.

She told me the child had been a particular problem but now the problem was being solved with great success.

"The child came to the nursery about a year ago, she explained. Her parents had been divorced a short time previously. It became quickly apparent that the child was not well, she said. She had no appetite and was completely placid. "She didn't laugh and she didn't cry. The other children would fight and she wouldn't fight back."

They spoke to the mother but she insisted that the child was completely normal. Everyone in her family, she argued, was a quiet type.

They had another meeting with both parents and told them that unless they agreed to let them provide psychiatric care for the child she would not be able to stay in the nursery. To keep her there, they reluctantly agreed.

The child is taken for weekly visits to a psychiatrist. In between he comes to the nursery to ob-

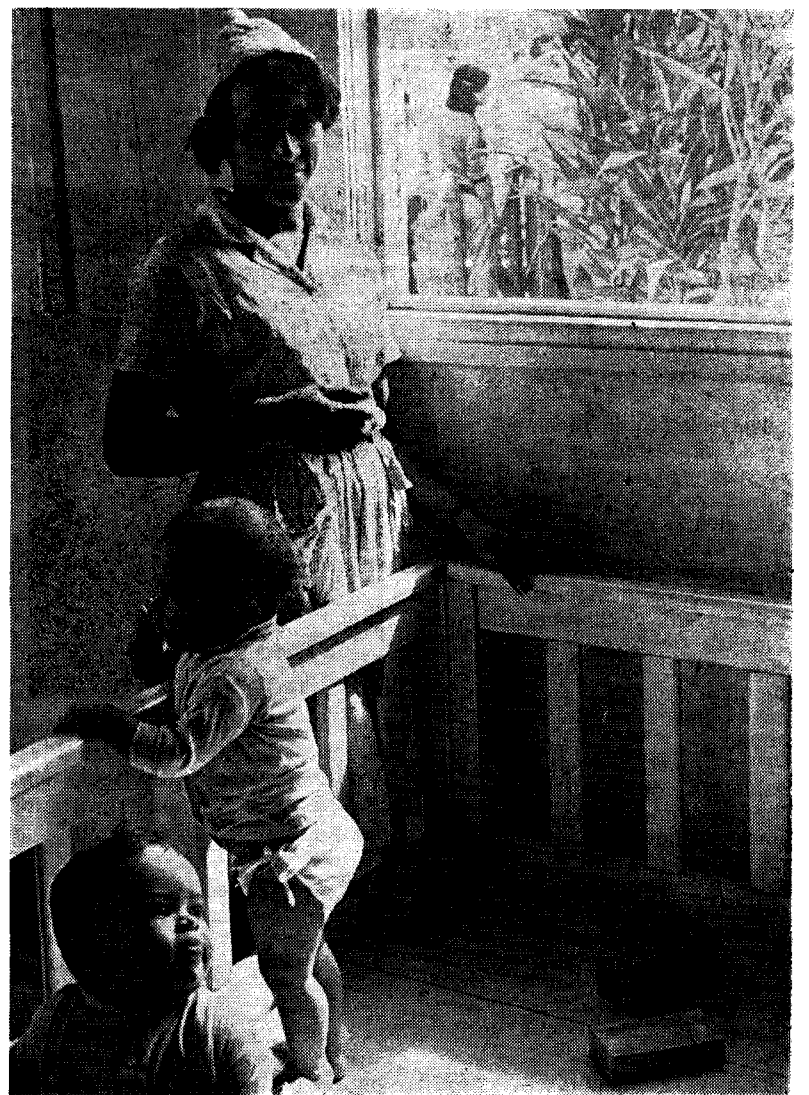


Photo by Harry Ring

IN NURSERY. Children of students are cared for while parents are in school.

serve her. A member of the staff toward whom the child had indicated some affection has been assigned to work with her exclusively.

Now, the director said triumphantly, "She eats. She laughs. She cries. Another child hits her, she fights back."

And the mother, I asked?

"She recognizes now that the

child wasn't well. And she recognizes that she had gone through a traumatic experience with her divorce and that she was transferring her anxieties to the child. Now she's going to a therapist too."

I walked away from the nursery trying to conceive of that happening to a black mother and child in a New York nursery.

Pentagon Secret Plan for World Domination

By George Novack

Despite the mountain of evidence accumulated over the past 20 years, many liberals refuse to believe that the executive heads of the U.S. ruling class are methodically proceeding to police the world in defense of capitalism. The Marxists are wrong, they claim, in attributing deliberate designs of world domination to Washington. The policymakers there do not pursue any single foreign policy line but stumble unthinkingly into one mess after another.

Thus each case of counterrevolutionary intervention into the affairs of other peoples is construed in isolation and not seen as one more piece in a consistent pattern of imperialist aggression.

This thesis will be much harder to uphold if an informative document that the Pentagon has in its

possession were made public. This is a study, completed two years ago by the Douglas Aircraft Corporation, under army sponsorship at a cost to the taxpayers of \$89,500. It was originally entitled "Pax Americana" but was later given the less provocative label of "Strategic Alignments and Military Objectives."

It was revealed in Washington Feb. 15, that Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, requested the Department of Defense last Nov. 29 to declassify, or remove security restrictions from, the document. Fulbright told the department he was making the request because the study involved foreign policy and "the important conclusions of the report" were in agreement with "so many recent statements made by Government officials."

The Department of Defense has refused Fulbright's request to release the secret study, even though it concedes that there is relatively little "militarily sensitive" information in it. But politically the document is highly explosive. For it reportedly sets forth plans on how the United States can "maintain world hegemony in the future."

This was acknowledged by Paul C. Warnke, assistant secretary of defense, in his answer to Fulbright last Dec. 14 that, even if all classified contents were deleted, the department would still be opposed to publishing the text because its conclusions might be construed as United States policy and thus "could produce serious repercussions abroad."

Since the conclusions dealt with military objectives and alignments over the next 20 years, he said, "it would be inappropriate to make official estimates of what

their validity may be now."

Democratic Senator Hartke of Indiana, who first called Fulbright's attention to the existence of the study, called upon the Defense Department to "come out in the open with this." He said, "I think in a self-governing society that the American people are entitled to know what military involvements are being planned which are contrary to general American principles."

"The unfortunate situation we are involved in in Southeast Asia could have been avoided if the American people had been aware as to what was being planned and what was going on," Hartke continued. "Secretary of State Rusk should appear in public before the Foreign Relations Committee and explain the document."

Fulbright has linked the recommendations of the Douglas Aircraft report with a number of policy statements on the U.S. role in Asia made by Johnson and top advisers. One is the President's declaration on July 12, 1966, that "the crucial arena of man's striving for independence and order" was Asia, and that the United States was determined "to meet our obligations in Asia as a Pacific power."

Another was the proclamation of Vice President Humphrey after the Honolulu Conference on Asian Affairs in April, 1966, of a "Johnson doctrine," which he said was "a pledge to ourselves and to posterity to defeat aggression, to defeat social misery, to build viable, free political institutions."

Fulbright, Hartke and their fellow senatorial "doves" are not anti-imperialists opposed in principle to a global strategy for American capitalism. But they do have serious tactical disagreements with

the administration's deepening involvement and overcommitments in Southeast Asia, and they fear the perils of head-on collision with China or the Soviet Union. By insisting on the exposure of official military aims in that area, they wish to embarrass the White House and arouse public opinion to pressure Johnson to revise his course.

However, the administration is not in the least disposed to draw back. The designs of the President and his generals bring to mind the Japanese general and premier, Baron Tanaka, author of the infamous "Memorial" which he submitted to the Japanese emperor in 1927.

This document outlined in detailed steps a program of imperialist expansion, beginning with the establishment of Japanese control in Manchuria and leading to domination of all China, Indonesia, the South Sea Islands, the Maritime Provinces of the USSR, and eventually India and the whole Pacific basin. He even envisaged ultimate Japanese control of Europe.

At the time, the document was branded by the Japanese as a Chinese forgery, although most foreign chancelleries were convinced of its authenticity. (Shortly before his death Leon Trotsky wrote an interesting account of how the Soviet intelligence service secured the "Memorial" from the archives of the Japanese government and made it public through the U.S. press. His article was published in *Fourth International*, June 1941.)

Beginning with the military intervention in Shantung and then the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Japan proceeded along precisely the lines charted in the "Tanaka

Memorial."

After the initial successes in the 1930s and early 1940s, this over-ambitious venture of Japanese militarism ended in catastrophe for its promoters. A similar fate befell Hitler who, in *Mein Kampf*, likewise spelled out in advance his scheme for conquering Europe and the rest of the world.

Driven by their sacred mission to perpetuate the profit system, and intoxicated by the prodigious power at their command, the ruling circles of the United States feel that they are invincible and will succeed where their predecessors failed. They believe that the plans for world hegemony which their hired specialists have put down on paper can be translated into permanent realities.

What a delusion! The resistance they have already encountered in Cuba and Vietnam and the further revulsion their course will provoke abroad and at home, will eventually lead to their own downfall, too. The point is to prevent these nuclear-armed imperialist brigands from dragging the American people and the rest of mankind into the abyss along with them.

Levy Trial Judge Now Is Against War

Earl V. Brown, who gave up his Army colonelcy for an assistant deanship at Columbia University, was the presiding Army judge at the trial of antiwar Capt. Howard B. Levy last spring. Brown, who sentenced Levy to three years at hard labor, has himself now come out against the war.

He signed an advertisement in the Feb. 15 *New York Times* that said in part, "We are opposed to the present policy of the United States in Vietnam . . ."

However, Brown still believes Levy deserved his sentence, because Brown "still thinks it is a legal war" although he "questions the wisdom of it."

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N.Y. Sanitation Workers Strike

Labor Militancy Sharpens

By Farrell Dobbs

What started as seemingly routine negotiation of a new contract for New York City sanitationmen erupted suddenly into a strike struggle of national significance. The issues and events involved have far-reaching political implications. They throw new light on the growing militancy in the union ranks, on the consequent sharpening of the labor-capital conflict, and on the resulting crisis of union leadership.

The strike came after seven months of fruitless efforts to get a contract renewal for the 10,000-member Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, a Teamster affiliate. Union demands centered on a \$600 annual wage increase retroactive to July 1, 1967, when the old contract expired. Mayor Lindsay rejected the demands and refused to make any serious counterproposal. When the angry sanitationmen began to talk strike, Lindsay threatened them with the state Taylor Act that prohibits strikes by public workers.

On Feb. 2 union president John J. DeLury called a protest meeting outside City Hall, where 7,000 sanitationmen showed up. He reported that Lindsay had rejected a mediator's proposal to grant about half the demanded wage increase. With a plea for moderation, he suggested a mail ballot to determine whether a strike should be called. The rank and file insisted on an immediate settlement or an immediate strike. When eggs were flung at DeLury for emphasis, he said he accepted the motion for a "Go-go-go." The strike began and it was 100 percent effective from the start.

Lindsay got an injunction under the Taylor law and the court, after declaring the union in "criminal contempt," jailed DeLury for 15

days and fined him \$250. The mayor then issued an ultimatum that the sanitationmen must return to work or he would ask Governor Rockefeller to call out the National Guard. When the strikers stood firm, Lindsay ordered city employees belonging to other unions to haul garbage. The unions involved countered with threats to join the walkout, and at that point Lindsay ask for mobilization of the guard.

Rockefeller declared he would use the National Guard "if necessary" but first, he said, Lindsay would "have to say he's lost control and ask the state to come in." His declaration provoked broad action from the New York City labor movement in support of the sanitationmen. Teamsters Local 813 members, who haul garbage for private companies, refused to take loads to the city incinerators. The Social Service Employees Union advocated a sympathy walkout of all city employees if troops were used. The New York City Central Labor Council threatened to call a general strike, warning, "We will not tolerate the use of militia against any workers."

Rockefeller then backed off from the National Guard threat to make a try for a negotiated settlement. He appointed mediators who proposed a \$425 annual pay increase retroactive to July 1, 1967. A meeting of sanitationmen's stewards accepted the recommendation but Lindsay rejected it.

The governor next asked the state legislature for authorization to take over New York City's sanitation department until Lindsay came to a settlement with the union. On that basis he asked the strikers to go back to work, assuring them pay at the rates recommended by the mediators. The

union agreed and the strike ended on its ninth day.

Charging Rockefeller with "capitulation" that would cause other unions to "escalate their demands," Lindsay said he was standing firm. Capitalist newspapers throughout the state denounced Rockefeller in an assault spearheaded by the *New York Times* which said: "If this Legislature now ratifies the Governor's concept that yielding to unlawful force is all right provided the price is cheap, it will be inviting every other union with control over an essential public service to strike..."

The Republican mayor got bipartisan support from Frank O'Connor, head of the New York City Council and a leader of the Democratic machine, who said Lindsay should have a "free hand."

Another councilman, Reform Democrat Edward Sadow, declared that "... all of us should rally behind the mayor on this issue."

With this backing Lindsay got the court to fine the union \$80,000 and bar it from the dues checkoff system for 18 months. He also refused to negotiate with the union while Rockefeller's proposal to take charge of the city's sanitation department was under consideration.

The governor's proposal met stiff resistance in the legislature from both Republicans and Democrats. His request to make a personal appeal before a joint session of the two houses was rejected. The legislature postponed any action pending "an expression" from Lindsay of his plans for "permanent solution" of the sanitation dispute.

Cheated

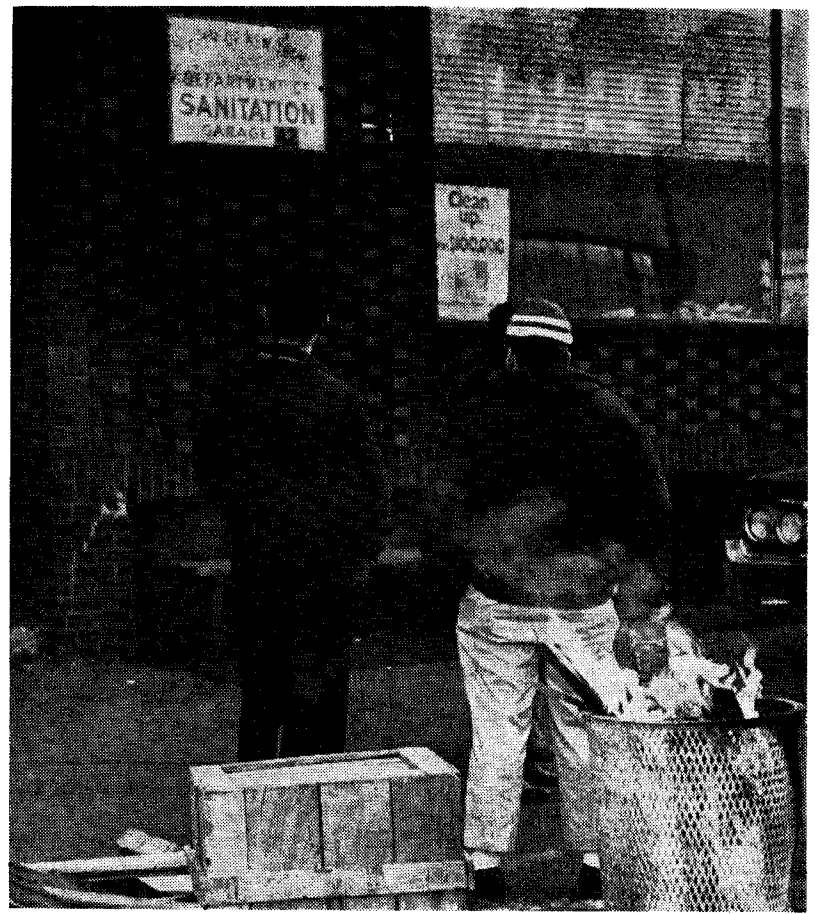
The strikers, who had returned to the job with Rockefeller's promise of an immediate raise in wages, found themselves working at the old scale. They were putting in 11-hour shifts, without overtime pay, to remove 100,000 tons of garbage that piled up during the strike. DeLury was still in jail, a huge fine had been slapped on the union and negotiations remained stalemated. Pressure to resume the walkout developed in the ranks and a union spokesman said it was up to City Hall whether the dispute would become a "world war."

At that point an agreement was reached between Lindsay and the union. It calls for arbitration of new wage rates and the length of the contract which Lindsay wants extended beyond the usual one-year period. The arbitrator's decision is due by Feb. 29. After his release from jail DeLury warned that unless the settlement led to correction of bad working conditions, ranging from unsafe trucks to filthy washrooms, the men might walk out again.

No matter what well-earned gains the arbitrator cheats them out of, the embattled sanitationmen won a victory for the whole labor movement. With dramatic help from other unions they fought off a vicious strikebreaking attack and made the mayor negotiate arrangements for a contract settlement. They showed that by standing united and fighting hard the workers can win something.

Their mood reflects growing rank-and-file pressure throughout organized labor for action in support of just demands made urgent by the impact of wartime inflation and taxes. They increased the mounting pressure on union officials to stand up to all employers, whether in private industry or government agencies. One bureaucrat, who is getting the message, said, "Reasonableness and statesmanship at the bargaining table today may elect your successor tomorrow."

For the first time in many years the struggle brought the threat of a general strike. This did not mean that the "statesmen" of the New York City Central Labor



ON STRIKE. Sanitationmen during New York work stoppage.

Council had suddenly become class fighters. The Council action reflected in a profound way the militancy that is spreading through the union ranks generally. An anonymous union official told reporters: "We are under pressure from our members and there are certain things we must do. It's our bread and butter."

Rockefeller apparently felt the unions were not making an empty threat of resistance to any use of troops against strikers. On Feb. 12 he told the legislature why, although "opposed to strikes by public employees," he was not calling out the guard. He cited a letter he had written to Washington saying: "I am deeply concerned that the National Guard in New York does not presently have, with existing equipment and training, the necessary strength to meet an emergency situation, should it arise on a scale comparable to what occurred in other states last summer."

He also told the legislature: "The use of military force to end a labor dispute in my judgment could have resulted in disorder and bloodshed at the very moment when this nation is tense and disturbed by a series of international problems. One drop of blood spilled in the City of New York could have touched off an explosion which... would have required calling on Federal troops at a moment when the nation is hard pressed to meet its objectives and commitments abroad."

Unlike most capitalist political hacks, Rockefeller is more than a pliant tool of the wealthy overlords who run this country. He is himself a member of the moneyed ruling class, well-versed with oil and banking capital. He apparently thought it best for his class in the given situation to make a wage concession to the sanitationmen rather than precipitate an unprepared showdown with the labor movement.

His decision reflects the acute problems facing the capitalist rulers of this country. They are trying to conquer the Vietnamese, make the U.S. workers pay the cost, and at the same time put down resistance on the home front to the consequences of their dirty war. It's a large order when the masses of this country begin to show a will to defend their rights and interests akin to that of the Vietnamese.

No doubt Rockefeller also expected his decision to win union support for his aspirations as a Republican "noncandidate" for President. The expectation is affirmed by praise he is getting among union officials. But while they laud him as a "friend of labor," the governor has already

set up machinery to stiffen the ban on strikes by public workers.

The first explicit ban in New York of such strikes came in 1947 with passage of the Condon-Wadlin law, which imposed severe penalties on employees, including automatic dismissal from employment. By the time of the 1966 transit strike in New York City, it had been definitively proven that the law failed to intimidate an aroused union membership.

Rockefeller then took the lead in substituting for it the Taylor Act, which was used recently against the teachers in New York City. The main change was provision for jailing union officials and fining unions that defied the strike ban. It was assumed the officials would be frightened into keeping the membership in line, but things didn't work out that way. The workers seem to have seen more value in some union officials as jailed martyrs than as "statesmen" on the loose. One head of a city employees union remarked, "If you don't go to jail, you don't have credentials."

Faced with this situation the capitalist politicians are veering back toward harsher reprisals against the union ranks. Republicans in the legislature talk of using a penalty now imposed on federal employees that makes it a felony for public workers to assert the right to strike. The Democrats, who tend to be sneakier on labor matters, announced their "own study of the law" to make it stiffer. Lindsay now calls the agreement to arbitrate final terms of the sanitationmen's contract a "major breakthrough in labor relations," an obvious pitch for compulsory arbitration provisions in a beefed-up Taylor law.

What a crime that Lindsay got a quick assist from George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, who advocates voluntary arbitration as a way to "avoid repressive legislation." This sad excuse for a union leader didn't have a mumbling word to say while the sanitationmen were fighting to save their union. Now he calls upon all public workers to give up their constitutional right to strike and submit to the rule of arbitrators who would cut their throats at every turn.

Meany's finkery underlines the need for a general housecleaning of the union bureaucracy. To solve the leadership crisis it is necessary to shape a labor program based on the realities of class struggle in this country. Selection can then be made during battles against employers of union leaders who support the necessary program, are capable of applying it and have the guts to fight for it. [See editorial]

3,000 N.Y. Protesters Warn on Atom Weapons

By Lora Eckert

NEW YORK — In response to the threat of the use of tactical nuclear weapons in Vietnam, the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee held an emergency protest demonstration on Saturday, Feb. 24. On one week's notice, 2,000 turned out to picket the U.S. Mission to the UN, and 3,000 were at the rally at Hammaraskjold Plaza near the UN.

Although the police had previously stated that, according to tradition, only a token picket line of 20 would be allowed directly in front of the Mission, that tradition was broken by about 780 people. So many people joined the line that half of First Avenue was closed off for two blocks for the demonstration.

The rally at Hammaraskjold Plaza was chaired by Linda Morse of the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee and Robert Greenblatt of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Dr. Philip Morrison, nuclear physicist from MIT and one of the originators of the Nagasaki atom bomb, said that United States army, air and naval forces in Vietnam were already equipped with 1,500 to 2,000 tactical nuclear devices, each of which could destroy the equivalent of 50 city blocks. If nuclear weapons were used so close to Communist China, Dr. Morrison said, "We run the risk of the greatest tragedy in human history." He asked if the United States was fighting a just war in Vietnam and the whole crowd shouted "NO!" Morrison closed his speech by calling for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Genie Spears, a graduate of

South Carolina State College and one of the organizers of a demonstration protesting the murder of the Orangeburg students, stated, "They are the same guns in Orangeburg and in Vietnam."

Rev. Daniel Berrigan, S.J., recently returned from North Vietnam after helping arrange for the release of three U.S. pilots, brought greetings from Premier Pham Van Dong and from intellectuals and students of that country.

Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the Albert Einstein estate, said, "We must build public opinion in the United States so that the final catastrophe may be avoided." Other speakers were Julius Lester, SNCC field secretary; Prof. Frank C. Collins, chairman of the Universities Committee on Problems of War and Peace; Dorothy Pittman from the Black Action Front; Terry Cannon, a defendant from Oakland's Stop the Draft Week case; and Women Strike for Peace leader Dagmar Wilson.

Dave Dellinger, coordinator of the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee, stated at a press conference held earlier in the week that "it is important to remember that the threat of the use of nuclear weapons is not taking place in a vacuum." He said the danger to the lives of American GIs in Vietnam should not be used as an excuse for the use of nuclear weapons, and that the only way to save their lives is to bring them home. Dellinger also emphasized the need to build the days of antiwar activity April 20-30, the Student Strike April 26, and the demonstrations planned nationally and internationally for April 27.

Black Liberation Notes

The 32-member African Supreme Council for Sports has approved a boycott of the 1968 Olympics, in protest over the decision to allow South Africa to participate. At last count, 15 of the African member nations have formally withdrawn, and the rest are expected to follow suit.

As a result, South Africa and its friends around the world have been asking the withdrawing nations to "reconsider." They base their arguments on the fact that South Africa has promised to send an integrated team to Mexico which will travel together, wear the same uniforms, and march under the same flag. Of course, Olympic tryouts for black and white athletes in South Africa will be separate.

United States Olympic representatives are making it clear that they can be counted among South Africa's friends. Avery Brundage, 80-year-old Chicago millionaire who is president of the International Olympic Committee, has asked the boycotting African nations to "think twice before denying South African non-whites their first opportunity for equality."

All this is helping to build up more and more support for the boycott of the Olympics being planned by black athletes in this country. Most black people are not very impressed by the new "opportunity for equality" in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the head of the South African delegation to the Olympics was quoted in the Feb. 27 *New York Post* as saying, "The games are essentially a Western creation and it's only through the grace of God and the kindness of the Western nations that the whole world now competes in the Olympics."

On Monday, March 4, John Parker will go on trial for murder in Houston, Tex. Parker is one of the five Texas Southern University students known as the "TSU

You'll Be Free Until You Get Back



Baltimore Afro-American, March 2

Five" who have been framed up in Houston and face the possibility of the death sentence. The other four students will be brought to trial later on this spring.

The "TSU Five" were arrested in the wake of last spring's police attack on the TSU campus, charged with felonious rioting and having caused the death of a cop who was killed during the incident.

It is very important that these students be defended. They were singled out and framed on account of their political activity in the fight for black freedom in Houston. People in the Houston area are urged to attend the trial at the Harris County Criminal Court Building. Telegrams and letters of support and contributions to the defense can be sent to the "TSU Five Defense Fund," Box 21085, Houston, Texas 77026.

Six Afro-American college presidents have called on government officials to "protect our colleges and universities from armed invasion" by police and National Guardsmen. The demand was prompted by the murder of three

students at South Carolina State in Orangeburg this month by cops and Guardsmen.

According to an article in the Feb. 25 *New York Times* book review section, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and *Malcolm X Speaks* are "two of the most popular books in ghetto bookshops."

Stokely Carmichael delivered a eulogy for rhythm and blues singer Otis Redding during a dance Feb. 10 at the Pitts Motor Hotel in Washington, D.C. Otis Redding was killed in a plane crash last Dec. 10.

From the bandstand Carmichael told the crowd of 800 people that "It is time for black people to pick their own heroes. Otis Redding was worthy of our praise. He was speaking to us in his songs."

—Elizabeth Barnes

She's Got a Point — A New Jersey driver who had accumulated 65 tickets for illegal parking in New York City told the judge she had to have the car parked in a handy spot to be able to get away on a moment's notice from the city's air pollution.

Soviet Prisoners Protest

By Les Evans

The attempts of the bureaucratic rulers of the Soviet Union to stifle the dissent of the new generation of rebellious intellectuals have begun to produce an intensified resistance on the part of young authors in the USSR. Beginning with the trial of Sinavsky and Daniel in 1966, the pattern of repression followed by new resistance and new repression has continued to spread.

Henry Kamm, writing from Moscow in the Feb. 22 *New York Times*, reported that 200 political prisoners in two labor camps and one prison have gone on a hunger

strike, demanding better conditions. Yuli Daniel is said to be among the striking prisoners.

According to Kamm, "the prisoners are demanding recognition of a special status for political prisoners, better living conditions, better food, abolition of forced labor and an end to the restriction on their right to send and receive letters."

Most of the recent political victimizations of young writers in the Soviet Union are directly connected. Aleksandr Ginzburg, Yuri Galanskov and two others were arrested more than a year ago for circulating a record of the Sinavsky and Daniel in 1966, the sentenced Jan. 12 to terms of up to seven years at hard labor.

Vladimir Bukovsky was sentenced to three years imprisonment last September for taking part in a demonstration of about 50 young people in Moscow on Jan. 22, 1967, to protest the arrest of Ginzburg and Galanskov.

Fired

An attempt by Pavel Litvinov, the grandson of Stalin's foreign minister Maxim Litvinov, to circulate a record of the proceedings of Bukovsky's trial and to protest its arbitrary character brought reprisals against him, and he has been fired from his university teaching position.

Most of these repressive actions have been carried out under the same reactionary catch-all law against "anti-Soviet slander," Article 70 of the Russian Federation law code.

Now the KGB, the Soviet secret police, has begun to call in friends and relatives of all of the accused to threaten them with reprisals if they continue to protest the censorship, the arrests and jailings.

According to a Feb. 19 Agence France-Presse dispatch, Lyudmila Ginzburg, mother of Aleksandr Ginzburg, and one of the young intellectual's friends, Miss Irina Zholkovskaya, were called into KGB headquarters Feb. 10 and given a lecture on their "carrying on against society (Mrs. Ginzburg had threatened to sue *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, organ of the Young Communist League, for falsely claiming that her son was a member of a reactionary Russian emigré organization)."

Others called in by the KGB include Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin,

Mobilization Committee also urged support for the demonstration. "In this country men are supposed to be innocent until proven guilty," she said. "This apparently does not apply to black men, however. Muhammad Ali's draft case is still in the courts. Yet the World Boxing Association decided that he was not fit to be world boxing champion, ostensibly because of his earlier conviction. This may well be overturned in the courts, and even if not, we say that Muhammad Ali was convicted and his title taken away because he is a black minister of a religion which teaches pride in being black and calls for black liberation."

Others who supported the demonstration at the press conference included Jose Stevens and Jarvis Tyner of the DuBois Clubs, Dan Rosenshine of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Abe Weisburd from White Americans to Support Black Liberation.

For more information about the demonstration write to the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, 100 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

Johnson Raises April Draft Call; U.S. Casualties Set Record Highs

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 27 — The day after U.S. military authorities revealed record American losses for one week of the Vietnam war, the Pentagon issued its largest draft call in 18 months. In April, the draft quota will be 48,000, including 4,000 for the Marine Corps.

The reported U.S. death toll for the week ending Feb. 17 was 543, much higher than the previous high of 416, two weeks earlier. It brought the total number of deaths for the first seven weeks of 1968 to 2,242.

Meanwhile, Washington announced that casualty figures in the Khesanh battle will not be released to the American people. The announcement followed news that a marine platoon had been ambushed 800 yards from the Khesanh base and that air support to the ambushed soldiers brought bombs on wounded marines.

Casualty figures for the mauled platoon were not revealed.

Johnson's response to Washington's big military and political setback of the last month, it is now evident, is stepped-up escalation: more troops, more bombing and more dead.

The closest thing to an official statement of these views came in the *New York Times* "News of the Week in Review" Feb. 25. The review was apparently based on conversations with Johnson at his Texas ranch:

"As he surveyed the war and his other problems, this was the President's thinking: He held firmly, in private as in public, to the premise that the United States could not — and therefore would not — suffer a defeat . . .

"He was convinced, as never before, that he had offered the most honorable and genuine terms possible for negotiations, and that North Vietnam, confident of its greater endurance, had no intention of offering him anything more than honorable or face-saving defeat."

In other words there will be no change in the strategy of escalation Johnson has been following for the last three years.

Nuclear Weapons

That strategy has already cost countless lives, has already wreaked havoc on the cities, north and south, of Vietnam. Its ultimate logic leads to the use of nuclear weapons, and this potential for catastrophe has already brought the sharpest criticism of the Johnson administration from high-ranking Democratic and Republican politicians in the course of the war.

An ominous indication that North Vietnamese dikes, which protect the population from floods, are now open targets for Johnson's bombs came in a Saigon dispatch written by *New York Times* correspondent Tom Buck-

ley, Feb. 25. Without mentioning the dikes, Buckley stated:

"The only two places in North Vietnam that are believed to remain off limits to American bombers are the Gialam airport . . . and the port of Haiphong."

The suggestion that wounded marines fell subject to U.S. bombs came in an AP dispatch from Saigon, Feb. 26, carried in the *New York Post*.

"AP Correspondent John T. Wheeler reported from the base in the northwestern corner of the country that Marine jet dive bombers dropped bombs and napalm on the Communists in an effort to cover the Marines trying to get back into the base."

"One air observer said he saw Marines lying on the ground and Communist soldiers swarming through the area just before the bombs fell."

On top of this, it is little comfort to read report after report, many coming from "unnamed" military men themselves, that the Khesanh base is ill equipped for defense and that it is of no tactical importance.

The impression is reinforced that Westmoreland is holding 5,500 soldiers in Khesanh out for bait; that when an attack comes, if it does, heavy bombers will be brought in to use against the attacking armies — and that many U.S. soldiers who escape the attack will be victims of the bombs.

Pavel Litvinov and the historian Yakir.

It has been reported that Litvinov failed to answer one summons to appear at KGB headquarters. Yesenin-Volpin, who is a logician, mathematician and poet, was arrested Feb. 15 and confined to a mental hospital.

This last is particularly ominous, as the Soviet bureaucrats have found it convenient in the past to dismiss their political critics as "insane," and dispose of them by imprisoning them in institutions.

Example

A particularly tendentious example of this line of attack, by M.V. Zimyanin, editor-in-chief of *Pravda*, circulated privately in Leningrad since last October. It was published in the Feb. 16 *World Outlook*, and in the Feb. 25 *New York Times*.

Zimyanin attacked Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, author of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, who, Zimyanin says, "is mentally unbalanced, a schizophrenic." He doesn't bother to answer Solzhenitsyn's demand for the repeal of Soviet censorship, or to explain why Solzhenitsyn's works, both new and old, are no longer printed in the Soviet Union.

The editor of *Pravda* dismisses the poets Yevtushenko and Voznesensky with the crude slap, "they also consider themselves to be geniuses."

Bureaucrat

Zimyanin, with all the tact of a literary bureaucrat, reports his threats to Voznesensky:

"I told him . . . that if this were repeated he would be crushed to powder — and I myself would do my utmost to smash him."

One of the most interesting sides of the growing oppositional mood among Soviet intellectuals is the attempt to press for real implementation of the paper guarantees of socialist democracy written into the Soviet constitution, introduced by Stalin in 1936.

Proclaimed at the height of the Great Purges, the bureaucrats never meant those constitutional promises of free speech, free press, freedom of assembly, and freedom to demonstrate to be taken seriously. But that is what the young generation and the new antibureaucratic currents are starting to do.

Letters From Our Readers

[This week the "Letters From Our Readers" column features letters addressed to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Below is a sampling of the many hundreds of letters, offering support for the Halstead-Boutelle ticket, that have been received by the committee. Most have been selected from areas where there has been little socialist activity in the last few years, in order to give an idea of the spread of the campaign.]

Christchurch, New Zealand
Could you please send six copies of "A Letter to GIs" as advertised in the 10 Feb. *Guardian*. Our executive is considering some activity at our local U.S. base, ostensibly located here to support "peaceful" research in Antarctica.

Owen Wilkes, Secretary
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
Australia and New Zealand Branch

Baltimore, Md.
I attend Western High School. I have started an antiwar group (clandestine) of about 12 persons. From this group, I'd like to build a supporting committee for Halstead and Boutelle. My aunt said you have a list of kids already supporting the SWP in the election. Could you send this list to me so that I can make more contacts in order to enlarge the SWP supporters' group.

L.P.

Syracuse, N.Y.
I would like information on organizing a meeting for candidates at Syracuse U. in interests of free speech and fuller choice for local electorate — and would like to volunteer, if available at the time, a room with bed for party workers who come upstate to get signatures for petitions to get on the ballot.

G.W.

Petersburg, Ind.
I understand you are canvassing

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

THE WORLD IN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell. Friday, March 8, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

BLACK POWER AND THE ELECTIONS. Speakers: Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, and other black spokesmen. Friday, March 8, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

SOVIET WRITERS AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. Speaker: George Saunders, contributor to *The Militant* and *World Outlook*. Friday, March 8, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Donation \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

NEW STAGE IN THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION. Saturday, March 9, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Indiana to find out if you will run your presidential candidate in this state. I urge you to run. I certainly would vote for your ticket, and will do all I can to urge others to vote for you.

I have been a socialist since I was 18. I am now 25 and have become more dedicated to my beliefs the older I get.

K.Y.

Grinnell, Iowa
As soon as I can get some money, I will order more literature, because my campus really needs to be awakened to the fact that there is an alternative in the 1968 election. So many students here do not know that one exists.

I would very much like to set up a meeting with the candidates here at Grinnell College. I would especially like to have Mr. Boutelle come and speak to us, because we have many Negro students here who are just becoming conscious of the true meaning of Black Power.

D.N.

Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa
I am intrigued by what literature of yours I have seen. Please send me additional information, and add my name to your mailing list.

C.M.

Morris College, Sumter, S.C.
After hearing and reading of your campaign for the Halstead-Boutelle people's ticket, I would like to volunteer any and all services I can to make this a reality for '68.

J.K.

North Conway, N.H.
I'm a disgusted ex-Democrat who is favorably impressed by Fred Halstead. Please send me information about all posters, buttons, and literature available for the campaign.

G.S.

Franklin, Ind.
As you may well know, a national student primary and referendum, CHOICE 68, will be held on April 24 of this year. Halstead will be placed on the ballot.

Can you send me a couple of posters concerning Halstead and Boutelle along with some inexpensive literature to hand out? In my opinion several votes can be gathered on the Franklin College campus.

C.M.

Damascus, Md.
Please send some information on your party to the above address. I became interested in your party through the dire warnings issued in my American Government class. I feel that now is the time to do something about this mess known as the American society.

G.C.

Great Neck, N.Y.
At Nuremberg, after World War II, the United States tried, convicted and executed men for the crime of obeying their govern-

ment when the "government" demanded crimes against humanity, and others who were not tried were guilty of the crime of silence.

I am angered by the conduct of our country in Vietnam, and feel as though I have been "brain-washed" all my life. I would like to work for your committee and, if possible, speak with Fred Halstead or Mr. Boutelle.

J.C.

Eugene, Ore.
Mr. Paul Boutelle spoke on my campus recently and I was greatly impressed by his direct assault on the ills of our country. From my meager funds I can spare \$5. Wish it could be more.

D.M.

Buffalo, N.Y.
I am very interested in your program and in your literature and would like more of it. I agree wholeheartedly with your stand on the Vietnam war and especially the elevation of the black man here in America.

I am not a member of the Socialist Workers Party and there are some things and ideas of your platform that I disagree with, but on the two issues that I have named, we share a common bond.

W.T.

Boston, Mass.
I am writing this letter asking if there is any chance of joining the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle. I am not a member of the Young Socialist Alliance as yet, but I consider myself a young socialist in ideas, belief, and thinking.

I am not a student, but must work for a living, and as of now I am a registered Republican, but

Thought for the Week

"Why are 'their Vietnamese' — the Communists — so good, and 'our Vietnamese' frequently so bad?" — Question often asked by U.S. officials in Hue, according to the Feb. 28 *New York Times*.

plan to change to a registered Socialist for the next election.

W.G.

Pullman, Wash.
Several groups at Washington State University — SDS and the Afro-American Alliance — are interested in sponsoring a meeting with Mr. Paul Boutelle. We heard that he will be in the area in February. Enclosed are some pledge cards for Halstead and Boutelle.

R.D.

Bloomsburg, Pa.
Several of us here at Bloomsburg are very much interested in Mr. Halstead's candidacy for the presidency and the program of the Socialist Workers. Therefore I would be delighted if you could send me several campaign buttons and campaign literature as soon as they are available. Enclosed is a modest contribution to your fine cause.

T.C.

Kalamazoo, Mich.
I heard Fred Halstead speak last night and I've resolved myself to become active with the SWP campaign. I seriously would like to help in any way I could.

D.B.

East Orange, N.J.
I am an ardent socialist, and want to become as involved in party activity as I possibly can. Although my utility is somewhat limited as I'm not yet of voting

age and am only a high school senior, I still think there must be a lot I can do to help the cause of socialism, specifically to help the Socialist Workers Party. I am, for example, the editor-in-chief of my school newspaper.

J.H.

Durham, N.C.
Could you please forward material on the Socialist Candidates for the 1968 Presidential elections for the CHOICE 68 primary to be held on this campus later this spring. Enclosed is a five dollar check to help cover mailing costs and other expenses — if costs should be slightly higher please send us a bill for the rest. Please also include as many of the Che stickers as possible and send a bill for up to 500 of them.

J.K.
Duke University

Reading, Pa.
Our organization is young but not so young as not to know the importance of a black candidate for the vice presidency.

Today we received a copy of *The Militant*. In it is an article about Halstead and Boutelle. The article also stated that campaign material is available. We request that you send us the available material and also make a special request for two large posters of Boutelle.

Nanie E. Singleon
Executive Secretary
Progressive Organization of
Afro-American Youth

The Great Society

Dogs . . . — Liz Taylor couldn't bear to be parted from her pet dogs for the two months she will be in London, making a film. (Dogs cannot enter England without first spending six months in a quarantine kennel.) So she chartered a yacht and a crew of 10 (cost: \$2,400 per week) which picked up the two Pekingese and the two Tibetan Lhasa Apsos at Calais and sailed them up the Thames. The 120-foot yacht, which belongs to Bolivian tin heir Jaime Ortiz Patiño, will be docked in the Thames for the duration. The dogs are reportedly "being treated like kings."

. . . and People — In Saigon a homeless family of six is allotted a space of six feet by three feet for themselves and their worldly possessions. A woven straw mat is handed each family as they enter a refugee center, and "home" is wherever they find space on the floor to spread the mat. Food for husband, wife, and four children consists of four small cans of rice and a tin of sardines every two days.

Happy Solution — A Chicago reader writes that movie star Dan Dailey, who has a son in Vietnam, proposed a solution to the war on a recent interview program. He suggested that we pull out of Vietnam and give the Thieu-Ky clique an island of their own plus lots of foreign aid to keep them happy.

LBJ Does So Have Friends — *New York Times* Paris correspondent Henry Tanner writes that there seems to be in Europe an "almost universal feeling of revulsion over the horror" of the Vietnam war. About the only prowar groups are "the Neo-Fascists in Italy and a small group of young brawlers of the extreme right in France."

'Doomsday Bug' — In an address to an international conference of scientists in London, an eminent science writer said that there is "a conspiracy of silence" about methods of germ warfare and that an ultimate germ warfare weapon, a bug to which people have no natural resistance, may be under development in military laboratories.

Enlightening Businessmen — Mao's thoughts may not illumine the earth, but they certainly have been reaching a wine importing company in London, Capital Wine Agencies, Ltd., reports that China National Cereals, Oils and Foodstuffs Import and Export Corporation begin all their business letters with a quotation from Chairman Mao.

Making It — Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the guru who manages to enroll prominent show biz people for his courses in transcendental meditation, expects to retire at the end of this year. But first he wants to get an airfield built near his retreat on the banks of the Ganges, so that he can land his new plane.

Double Talk — In a speech at Washington's American University, Hustling Hubert Humphrey said that "abuse, violence, obscenity, harassment and storm-trooper tactics have no place in our society . . ." In case you think he was criticizing police brutality towards black people and antiwar activists, he wasn't. He was putting down campus demonstrators.

—Ruth Porter

New Readers

If you would like to be sure of receiving every issue containing Harry Ring's special on-the-spot series from Cuba, order an introductory four-month subscription now. In addition, you will receive FREE a copy of the November-December 1967 issue of the *International Socialist Review* containing Fidel Castro's speech at the OLAS conference held in Cuba last summer, and the general declaration issued by OLAS. Send this coupon and \$1 to

THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

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Big Campus Interest For SWP Campaign

By Doug Jenness

FEB. 26 — When Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for Vice President, arrived in Vancouver, Canada, on Feb. 14, the Canadian Press sent out a wire announcing his arrival. During his two days there, he was interviewed by six radio and television programs for a total broadcast time of nearly five hours.

Between interviews he managed to draw a capacity crowd of 350 students at the University of British Columbia and 600 at the Simon Fraser campus, with many being turned away at both meetings. A packed meeting downtown sponsored by the Vanguard Labor Forum drew 135 people.

Boutelle flew into Vancouver from Salt Lake City, where the day before he had spoken to a meeting of 175 at the University of Utah, been interviewed on two radio stations, spoken to a political science class for three hours, and enjoyed a luncheon on campus with some of the most prominent radicals in the area.

The Socialist Workers candidate for President, Fred Halstead, has also been carrying a heavy schedule. A report from a young socialist at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale indicates that on Feb. 6 "... Halstead ad-

ressed an audience of 200 students, faculty, and some townspeople. He was interrupted several times during his speech by applause and cheering ... As a result of his speech a Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle chapter is being established ..."

In Michigan, Halstead spoke to over 1,000 people between Feb. 12 and 17 at meetings at seven high school and college campuses. Halstead spoke to 125 students at Oakland University and 100 at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo. Both meetings were sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society. In addition he spoke to 40 students at Bentley High School in Livonia, a Detroit suburb; 50 students at Wayne State University; 400 at Cass Technical High School; 40 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor; and 150 at Michigan State in East Lansing. Over 60 new endorsers were added to the campaign through these meetings.

On Feb. 20, Halstead was in Kent, Ohio, where he spoke at Kent State University. Fourteen new endorsers signed up with the YSHB group there and a new YSHB chapter was set up at Hudson High School in nearby Hudson, Ohio.

Debs Hall Case Victory: Law Unconstitutional

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND — In a unanimous decision the Eighth District Court of Appeals of Ohio Feb. 15 ruled the Cleveland disorderly-assembly ordinance unconstitutional and reversed the convictions of eight defendants stemming from a police raid of a buffet dinner held for the benefit of *The Militant* at Debs Hall here in November 1965.

"This ordinance represents an unconstitutional exercise of the police power of the City of Cleveland, and is therefore void," the

13-page opinion written by Appellate Judge J. J. P. Corrigan concluded.

The significance of this legal victory of the Debs Hall defendants for the antiwar movement, the black freedom struggle, militant trade unions and campus groups is clear.

"As it is written," the Appeals Court held, "the disorderly assembly ordinance could be used to incriminate any group or individual. With little effort, one can imagine many 'noisy or boisterous' assemblages which, at various times, might annoy some persons in the City of Cleveland."

"Anyone could become an unwitting participant in a disorderly assembly, and suffer the penalty consequences. It has been left to the police and the courts to decide when and to what extent" the ordinance is applicable.

Defense

The long and costly legal defense was supported by the Committee to Aid the Debs Hall Defendants, organized as soon as the 30 persons arrested in the midnight raid were released from jail. The American Civil Liberties Union of Ohio joined in the appeal as a friend of the court.

All but the eight defendants discharged by the appellate court were acquitted in earlier trials.

Of four defendants also charged with "assault and battery" on a plainclothes policeman, three have been freed. The fourth, James Russell, long active in the civil rights movement, was convicted in a jury trial. The defense committee is supporting his appeal, which will be amended now that his conviction for disorderly assembly on the same occasion has been reversed.

Richard B. Tussey, another defendant who won his appeal on the disorderly charge and was found not guilty earlier of a liquor law violation, has a false arrest suit pending against police and state liquor agents.

Mass West Coast Meetings For Defense of Huey Newton

The mushrooming support in the black community in California for the defense of Huey P. Newton was indicated by two huge, spirited rallies in Oakland and Los Angeles for the Black Panther Party leader.

On Feb. 17, almost 6,000 people filled the Oakland Civic Auditorium, and the following night 4,000 came to a rally in the Los Angeles Sports Arena. The predominantly black audiences heard speakers from SNCC and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense announce plans to merge the two organizations.

Huey P. Newton is Minister of Defense of the Black Panthers, and is facing trial on March 7 on frame-up charges of murder, intent to commit murder and kidnapping. The charges grew out of an incident which took place early in the morning of Oct. 28, 1967, when Oakland police recognized Newton's car and stopped it. Huey P. Newton was seriously wounded in the stomach when the police opened fire. One policeman died and another was wounded in the arm.

Newton has pleaded not guilty to all charges. His lawyer, Charles Gary, is asking that the trial be prohibited on the grounds that the grand jury which indicted Newton is not composed of Newton's peers. At the rally in Oakland, Gary asserted that if Newton was tried by an impartial jury, by 12 of his peers, he would certainly be acquitted.

Also at the Oakland rally was Ron Dellums of the Berkeley City Council, who said he intends to submit a resolution that black people should be on the grand

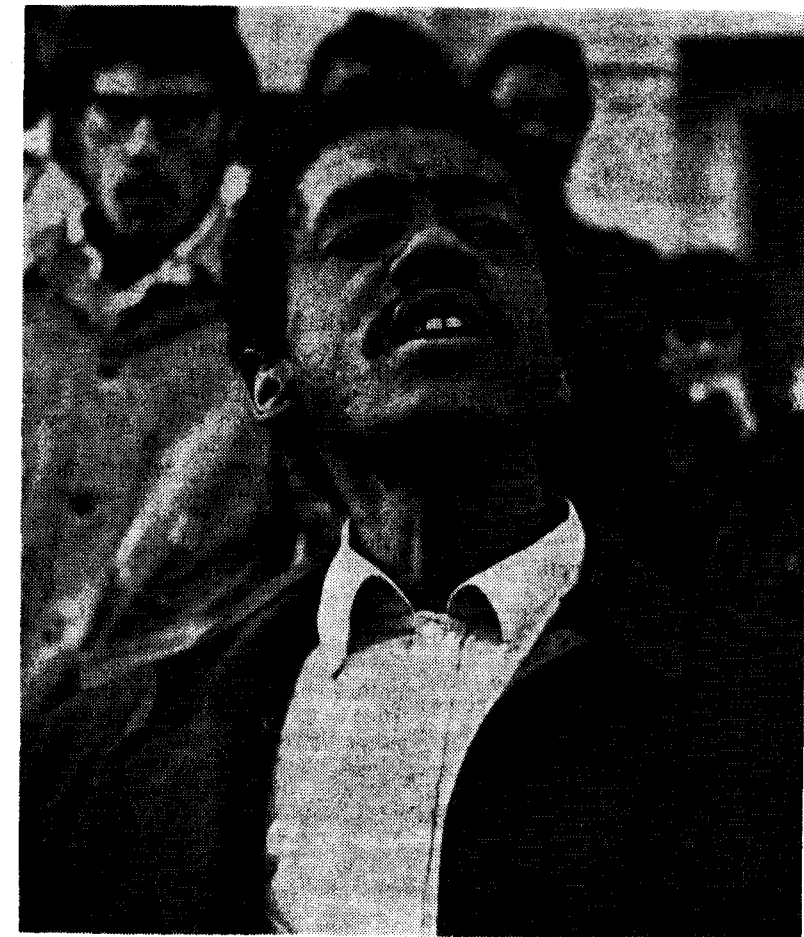


Photo by Jaimey Allen

BOBBY SEALE. Black Panther Party chairman addresses street crowd.

jury, that Newton's constitutional rights are being abridged, and that he should be set free immediately.

SNCC leaders H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael and James Forman spoke at both rallies, as did Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale. At the Los Angeles rally, Reies Lopez Tijerina of the New Mexico land grant movement also spoke. The crowds cheered and interrupted the mili-

tant speeches with applause, especially when they called for measures of self-defense against racist violence.

James Forman announced the plans for the merger of SNCC and the Black Panthers at the Oakland rally, and said that he hoped the merger would become final within a couple of months. The reason for the merger, he said, was that black people "need a mass political party."

Boutelle Blasts Arrest Of Panther Chairman

BERKELEY, Feb. 28 — At 2 a.m. on Feb. 25, the Berkeley police entered the home of Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale, searched the home, and arrested Seale and his wife. The police had no warrant, according to Seale.

Bobby Seale was charged with conspiracy to commit murder and with illegal possession of weapons. Four other supporters of the Black Panther Party were arrested the same night.

Seale was released on \$11,000 bail. Neither the police nor the District Attorney has named the person or persons the alleged "conspiracy" was directed at, and the D.A. has announced that he has not yet decided whether to press charges.

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, issued a statement here today charging that this new incident of persecution against Black Panther Party leaders amounted to "ransom."

"A pattern of police harassment, false arrest and trumped-up charges is being carried out against members of the Black Panther Party," Boutelle said. "Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, his wife and friends, have been arrested on the phony charge of 'conspiracy.' What this amounts to is ransom

through high bail on trumped-up charges.

"It is no accident that this latest attack on the Black Panther Party comes after SNCC and the Black Panthers joined forces to free Huey Newton. It is an attempt to weaken the growing unity in the black community, but it will not work. The black people who have been enslaved, jailed, lynched, beaten and dehumanized are saying 'no more.' We will rally in ever larger numbers to defend black militants under attack. We will show the government and cops that we will not move one step back. Defend Bobby Seale, Huey Newton and the Black Panthers!"

Dow Protesters Arrested in Albany

ALBANY, N.Y. — A militant demonstration against Dow Chemical Company recruiting on the State University of New York campus here on Feb. 21 was attacked by the university administration. Campus police arrested 10 students; and 57 others, who participated in an attempt to debate the Dow recruiter, were threatened with suspension. The organized antiwar movement on the campus sees as its major task now the defense of those arrested.

Black Youths Meet in Ohio

By Tony Thomas

WILBERFORCE, Ohio—A Black Youth Conference held Feb. 23-26 at Central State College here established an Ohio Black Youth Union to unite the various Afro-American student and youth organizations in this state.

The conference was attended by 200-300 black youth largely from Ohio colleges, including Central State, Wilberforce, Antioch, and the University of Dayton. But some students came from as far as Tuskegee, New York and Washington, D.C.

The participants discussed the problems of organizing black students on both black and predominantly white campuses and how to relate the growing campus black liberation movement with the black community. Resolutions were passed supporting the peoples in the third world struggling against U.S. oppression, and supporting the right of black people to struggle for their liberation by any means necessary.

The conference supported the establishment of a national black youth union to unite black militants in the colleges and the black community in the struggle for liberation.



Photo by Hermes

IN RECORD TIME. In 10 days supporters of the Socialist Workers presidential ticket obtained 20,000 signatures on nominating petitions in order to put the names of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle on the ballot in Pennsylvania. Only 10,551 are required by state law.